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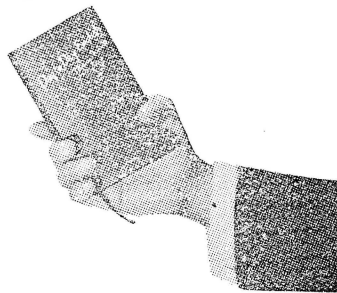
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THE POLE STAR MONTHLY

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THE BURMA ROAD TO CHINA IN MARCO POLO'S STEPS

Deprived very largely of supplies by sea, China must now rely for communications with the outside world on overland routes. Of these there are three leading respectively into French Indo-China, into Russian Central Asia, and into Burma. The following are extracts from three articles describing a journey from Burma to Yunnanfu.

HANKOW

This is an old route; it was not new when the ubiquitous Marco Polo travelled it, going south-west from the court of the Grand Khan into the kingdom of Mien, which is the Chinese name for Burma. It was by the road he is reputed to have followed—the Ambassadors' Road, it used to be called—that your Correspondent and his wife entered the province of Yunnan in the last week of February. We had travelled up from Mandalay to Lashio, mostly in a slow but staunch little train which at Gokteik dragged itself across a railway viaduct alleged to be the highest in the world. In small stations perched among the mountains posters hopefully adjured the Shan tribesmen to "Visit Scarborough."

From railhead at Lashio a fuming lorry took us in two days over the 200 odd miles of narrow, tortuous road which has recently been driven through the jungle to Bhamo, farther up the frontier. It was at Muse, the halfway stage, that we got our first sight of China—a great range of hills, blue in the dusk, beyond the shining ribbon of the Shweli River. Muse is the point at which the great motor road now being built by the Chinese from Yunnanfu will cross the Burma frontier.

A Burmese Bazaar

Next day we found a bazaar in full swing at Namkham, an important trading mart for the local tribes. The booths swarmed with a variety of races; Shans from both sides of the border, Kachins, an occasional Lisu, a few Chinese and Indian traders. Round white turbans and tall blue cylindrical turbans, plaits and bobs and pigtails, cheroots and slender bamboo pipes, strange leggings and irrelevant garters, kilts and skirts and trousers, dirks from the Middle Ages, and cheap tartan rugs from Italy; Namkham was an ethnological jigsaw puzzle. We

bumped away from it with regret, crossed the Shweli by a suspension bridge of imposing proportions but dubious reputation, and reached Bhamo after an excruciating ride over a road which was being re-metalled by Chinese labour imported from Yunnan. Over the 205 miles from Lashio to Bhamo we had averaged roughly 15 miles an hour.

Lashio is railhead. Bhamo is river-head, and from it imports brought by caravan from China (far the most important is raw silk) pass down the Irrawaddy to Rangoon. It is a pleasant station, combining the trim with the picturesque; for us it represented the end, temporarily, of civilization. We hired four mules for our luggage and two Szechwanese chair coolies, who carried my wife when the sun got high in a *hwa kan*, a simple but comfortable contrivance of bamboo and string.

On February 22, only—thanks to Imperial Airways—19 days after leaving London, we loaded our impedimenta on a lorry and drove 30 miles out of Kylongkha, where the motor road ends at a cluster of huts in the jungle. Hence, next day, we took the mule road for China.

Across The Frontier

In the middle of the second day's march we crossed the Chinese frontier. It was marked by a stream, a little iron bridge, and nothing else. In place of the uniforms, the bureaucrats, and the currency regulations which Europe knows too well, there was only a surly Kachin youth, who forbade us to photograph his women, but otherwise ignored us. Beyond the frontier the road showed, and maintained, a marked deterioration.

The first place of importance on our route was the city of Tengyueh, which is 105 miles from the end of the motor road in Burma. We reached it in six stages, of which the last was a long one of 28 miles. The road, though pleasant to travel, is

completely neglected by the Chinese authorities. This did not matter very much however; for with the completion of the new motor road the Bhamo route will lose most of its importance.

The Chinese Shan States, through which we travelled as far as Tengyueh, seem to be administered well, largely because they are hardly administered at all. It was strange, coming fresh from the dire headlines and horrific newsreels of London, to march for day after day through a China from which the war was almost as remote as the Flood.

Tengyueh, which we reached on February 28, is a pleasant Chinese city lying in a wide valley some 5,000ft. above sea-level. In spite of its elevation and its remoteness from the coast it ranks as a treaty port. There is a British Consulate, a solid edifice built at enormous expense in a style of more than classic severity. Its practical value will soon scarcely exceed its aesthetic, for the new motor road gives Tengyueh a fairly wide berth and it seems almost certain that the city will share the fate of Mengtszu, another treaty port in Yunnan whose importance withered when the railway from French Indo-China passed it by at a distance. The present secular foreign population of Tengyueh (there is a Swedish mission there) is three. It is a lonely post.

We spent three nights there, resting and engaging fresh mules for the remaining 170 miles of caravan road. We were almost too hospitably feasted by the *tupan*. General Li Yehkai, who had been warned of your Correspondent's advent by the Central Government. Under the mistaken impression that I was coming by aeroplane, he had thoughtfully initiated the construction of an airfield. When I saw the result—an irregular plot of arable in a wilderness of grave-mounds—I was glad that I had walked. Throughout our journey we received every consideration from the Chinese officials.

Eaves of High Asia

We took the road again on March 3, accompanied by a Chinese servant with an anxiously paternal manner, two chair coolies, five mules, and a riding pony for my wife. We were also furnished with an escort of two

charming soldiers armed with rifles and umbrellas. (These men went into action only twice. Once they annihilated a very small snake, 5in. long, which confronted us on the road; and once one of them, after holding the cartridge up to his ear like a cigar to find out if it contained a charge, finished off a broken-down mule which had been cast off by another caravan.)

The problem facing a traveller who wishes to proceed from Tengyueh to Yunnanfu is much the same as that which is attacked by an ant crawling laterally across a sheet of corrugated iron. The route lies along the eaves of High Asia, directly athwart the deep-hewn courses of the Salween, the Mekong, and certain lesser but not negligible rivers. A series of mountain barriers, cut by passes between 8,000ft. and 9,000ft. high, alternates with valleys or gorges which go down to the neighbourhood of 4,000ft. above sea level. The track is intermittently, but always crazily, paved: and the steepest ascents and descents are made by dilapidated flights of steps. The average stage is about 15 miles a day, and the accommodation at the end of it varies from mediocre (by local standards) to very bad. The scenery is throughout magnificent.

It was at Yungchang (now called Paoshan) that we struck for the first time the new motor road, which comes up from the Burma frontier near Lashio by way of Mangshih and Lungling. This road, which is being constructed in sections, is not yet open to traffic. We did not travel on it, for it zigzags far afield in quest of easier gradients than the mule road offers; but from time to time we dropped down on to it for a few miles in the valleys.

A Mad Tailor

After Yungchang the weather, which had been threatening for some time, broke with a vengeance. Travelling fast, we still had a minimum of seven stages between us and Hsiakwan, the terminus of the bus route to Yunnanfu. For six of those stages (on the second of which we crossed the Mekong in a narrow but tremendous gorge) rain and thunder accompanied us. But the unkindest freaks of climate (needless to say, such weather at such a season was never known before) could not cancel the compensations of the journey. These included several chance encounters. One (too brief)

with the wife of a distinguished professor of English literature, pursuing her solitary but indomitable course towards the Irrawaddy; another (also too brief) with the British Consul at Tengyueh, who was returning to that place after acting as Consul-General in Yunnanfu; and a third (altogether too protracted) with a mad tailor who for three days, with tears and prostrations, implored my protection against imaginary foes.

On March 13 we did a long stage of 22 miles and slithered into Hsiakwan soon after dark. Early on March 15 we took our seats with 20 other passengers in a lorry rudely disguised as a public conveyance, and four hours later it started. Bus rides in China have been described before, and this ran true to type. The usual number of people were sick; the usual number of mechanical defects revealed themselves and were repaired by improbable methods; and the usual overloading threatened our equilibrium on hair-pin bends. Once we stuck fast and dug ourselves out; and the small boulders with which stretches of the road were being remetalled made progress slow and painful. But we had better luck than most of our competitors and did the 275 miles to Yunnanfu in three days.

Even so, at least two of the passengers, as they climbed stiffly out, could not help wondering how long it will be before the Chinese begin to show towards machines the sense of responsibility which governs, or at any rate influences, their treatment of (for instance) mules.

The Road Builders

Although some 20,000 or 30,000 Yunnanese troops (out of a population of 14,000,000) have been sent to the war areas, and although some of them are reported to have been in action and done well, it may be said that the principal effect of the war on the huge province of Yunnan has been to make it build a road which it ought to have built years ago. In the recent history of the province the construction of a highway from the capital to Burma has been decided upon an unrecorded number of times; and three years ago an unmetalled stretch of some 275 miles from Yunnanfu to Hsiakwan was actually opened. But the total project, like many others in the back parts of China, needed the stimulus of Japanese aggression to get it properly under way; and even that stimulus might not have

been effective without the dynamic impact of General Chiang Kai-shek's will; a force, it should be added, which is ably supported on the spot by the Governor of Yunnan, General Lung Yun.

Work on the 343 miles from Hsiakwan to the Burma border was started only last December. It might have been started earlier; but the rich merchants of Tengyueh cabaled to protect their interests by diverting the road through Tengyueh to Bhamo. Once, however, the present route (Yunnanfu-Hsiakwan-Yungchang-Lungling-Mangshih-Lashio) was decided on, the Yunnanese, under official compulsion, attacked their prodigious task with ant-like industry. In three months the road bed had been levelled or cut out, and in March I saw its long sinuous scar running impressively along the flanks of the trans-Salween ranges. The surveying in this exceptionally difficult terrain was done by Chinese.

Heroes and Victims

The nature of the country is such that for the greater part of its length the road must run along the sides of steep and at times semi-precipitous mountains. It is impossible not to marvel at the speed with which the bed has been cut out by hand without the aid of even the most primitive machinery (their nearest approach to a machine is a cylindrical boulder which with the help of a water buffalo does duty as a steam roller). But the results are inevitably a little slapdash.

The heroes—and the victims—of the new road are the peasants who are building it. Their numbers are unknown even to the officials concerned, but they probably exceed 100,000, and have been placed as high as 170,000. They include women and children and some very old men; they work with the minimum of official and less than the usual minimum of military supervision; and they receive no pay at all. In Yunnanfu one of the arbiters of their destinies explained to me that their food is provided out of funds raised from the less impoverished classes, who can purchase exemption from this *corvée*. For the rest, the road has been subsidised by the Central Government to the extent of \$2,500,000 (Mexican), and it is said (in Yunnan) that Yunnan has contributed a further \$500,000.

The workers, who are lodged in flimsy grass huts, keep on the job, in many sectors, day and night.

★ Czecho-Slovakia's Big Problem ★

By LUDOVIC NAUDEAU

Czecho-Slovakia is a state of nationalities, not a national state. Several peoples live there side by side; each speaks its own language, continues its historic traditions, and tends to pursue its own particular ideologies. In order to understand the big problem which the German minority presents to the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, it is necessary to know certain fundamental truths which apply to the minority.

In the 18th century, after epochs of alternate grandeur and vicissitudes, Bohemia (the country of the Czechs, a Slavic people) became a simple Austrian dependency and in 1776 German was imposed as the official language. Slavism remained dormant for a while until the events of 1848 made a decisive step towards its re-awakening. The Emperor of Austria finally granted the Bohemians permission to call a constituent assembly, and after 1861 political life among the Czechs became intensified. It is important to bear in mind that German Bohemia was never a part of the Reich; it had never been anything but one of the Germanic parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire.

Long before Emperor Francis Joseph, Bohemia had its German minority, established on the same territory as today. The minority believed it was superior to the other Bohemians and that it should have certain privileges because it belonged to the dominating race of the empire. When, after many linguistic conflicts, these Germans asked for a constitution for a "closed German territory" in 1880, the Czechs were bitterly opposed: they wanted to preserve the unity of their Bohemia and its secular frontiers. So we see that the present conflict is merely a repetition, or a continuation of the one that existed in the Hapsburg empire.

Ragged or neat, misshapen or limber, cheerful or merely blank, they swarm along the raw red cuttings, driving across the mountains a highway for vehicles which very few of them have ever seen.

The commercial and economic potentialities of the Burma road are much canvassed. It is at present a dark horse; but it is hardly conceivable that it will turn out to be a white elephant.

The Times Weekly Edition London, May 26, 1938.

When you look at a map, you see that Bohemia is the most western of all the Slavic nations, jutting like a salient into the Germanic world. Czecho-Slovakia, as constituted by the Treaty of Versailles, is composed fundamentally of the two countries its name associates, two countries which are peopled by a single race which comprises 65 per cent. of its total population of 14 million. In addition to the Germans, there are about 691,900 Hungarians, 450,000 Russians, and 81,730 Poles. The Polish and Hungarian minorities have often been cause for anxiety but at present the German problem is all-important.

At the end of October, 1918, the Germans of Bohemia tried to constitute themselves an autonomous state, *Deutschbohmen*, and invoking the right of nations to self-determination, they claimed their union with the new Republic of Austria. The Czechs, however, were opposed to this division of their country, and just as in 1880, they had their way.

Bohemia brought to the Czecho-Slovakian Republic more than three million Germans, or 22½ per cent. of the total population of February, 1921. But this German mass does not form a single bloc; it is found mainly in six regions which separate the Czech zones. A part of this minority, too, is scattered in the midst of the territory inhabited by the Czechs and Slovaks, and forms what is called language blocs. (In Prague itself there is a bloc of 35,000 Germans.) This geographic division of the Germans in Czecho-Slovakia has existed since the first immigration of the Germans into the country and, according to the Czechs, prevents the minority from breaking away to create any kind of autonomous political body. Yet in spite of this, the first act of the sixty-two German deputies in the Czecho-Slovakian parliament in June, 1920, was to affirm that, *never having intended to unite with the Czechs* to create the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, they considered the incorporation of the German regions in this state a violation of the right of nations to self-determination. Their subsequent relations with the state have been based on this affirmation and show an attitude of antagonism, or even rebellion. They reproach the Czechs for the constitution which was drawn up by a

national assembly from which Germans were excluded. But they seem to forget that they were excluded of their own accord. They say that most of the official positions have been given to Czechs. That is true; but they do not take into consideration the fact that an official must inspire confidence in the state he represents, and that the attitude and tactics of the Germans on the Bohemian frontier make it difficult for the state to have confidence in them.

A thing which seems surprising in 1938 is that the first *national socialist* party in Europe was organized before the war and Mr. Benes, now President of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic was its most important member. Later this Czech party changed its policies, while the Austrian national socialist party, patterned on the Czech party, kept its original doctrines. The present national socialist party of Czecho-Slovakia is a branch of this Austrian national socialist party. Its progress was a direct consequence of the success enjoyed by the nazi movement in the Reich, and soon the Czech government felt obliged to protect itself from the party, which was dissolved on October 4, 1933.

Shortly afterwards, Konrad Henlein, hitherto unknown, organized a new group: the Patriotic Front of the Sudeten. At 38 years of age, he became a Führer, incarnating in his person all the regrets and rancor of the Germans in Bohemia and imposing his will on them. His victory was quick and decisive. In the elections of May, 1935, the Sudeten-Deutsche Partei of Konrad Henlein obtained more than one million votes and 44 of the 72 German mandates in parliament: he represents, therefore, two-thirds of the Germans of Bohemia.

The basis of his protest to the Czechs was that the property of the Germans in Bohemia should be respected, and that they should be given the opportunity to enjoy again all the material, moral, administrative and intellectual positions held by them at the end of the war.

I was determined to find out whether the Germans of Bohemia were really oppressed, as Henlein and his partisans maintain, by visiting German Bohemia and talking with the people there. After many long discussions I talked to a German from Bohemia who had just returned from a long visit to America, and he seemed to express very well the opinions of the others.

"No," he said, "we really are not

persecuted. We Germans have the same electoral and legal rights as all the other inhabitants of the republic and therefore we should be satisfied. But, there is a catch: the Czechs govern the country from Prague, and as they hold the executive power, the result is that practically our equal rights are not equal at all. In our German country, the number of German functionaries in proportion to our population is ridiculously small, and all sorts of pressure is brought to bear on the subordinate German officials to make them send their children to Czech schools; their attempt to "Czechize" the German population is flagrant. Czech has been promoted to the official language, and it is impossible for us to get along without knowing it.

"I think it is quite within reason to ask for a more or less extended autonomy in which we could administer our own educational establishments, choose our own functionaries and police, direct our own culture, and in general, enjoy our national wealth. This could all be done, of course, within the framework of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, and the parliament at Prague would settle all questions of foreign politics and national defence."

I learned further that Konrad Henlein received two-thirds of the German votes; that was a great deal, yet it was not such a great deal, because he did not receive the support of one-third of the Germans in Czecho-Slovakia (those who belonged to parties which the nazis are persecuting in Germany). This minority, called the Activists, approve of the participation of their deputies in the direction of Czecho-Slovakian politics.

At the end of 1936, the representatives of their three parties, the agrarian party, the Christian socialist party and the social democratic party, submitted a memorandum to the government in which they insisted on the necessity for certain reforms. This resulted in the agreement of February 20, 1937: persons belonging to minority groups have been promised government positions in proportion to the numerical importance of the minority in the state; the examinations given them in the Czech language will be easier; and when the government undertakes public works on German territories, it will have recourse to the German contractors and workers living in these territories.

At this point, it is necessary to

mention the depression which reached its culminating point in Czecho-Slovakia in 1933. German Bohemia, essentially industrial, suffered from it to a greater extent than the Czecho-Slovakian majority, particularly because its products were destined for exportation.

This provided an excellent occasion for the enemies of Czecho-Slovakian unity to accuse the government of pursuing a systematic policy favoring the Czechs and Slovaks to the detriment of the German minority. Internal complications were accentuated by the political tension in Europe. In 1933, the national socialist party came into power in Germany, full of pan-Germanic aspirations. Its ideology, the importance it attributed to the idea of race, and its vehement claims could not fail to influence German minorities in the states of central Europe, and it was in the autumn of that year that Henlein came into prominence.

Although Henlein's party affirms it has no connection with nazism, the Führer of the Sudeten cannot hide his relationship to the famous Führer of the German Reich. Even his vocabulary has assimilated the terms *Gemeinschaft*, *Deutsches Blut*, *Deutscher Raum*, so dear to Hitler. His criticism of parliamentarianism, of liberalism, and Marxism is an echo of Hitlerian invectives. He, too, receives his chief support from the manufacturers; his party is conservative and collaboration with the socialists in parliament is inconceivable. He exercises a rigorous authority over his Sudeten Party, and applying a totalitarian policy, he claims the sole right to represent the Germans of Bohemia and express their policy.

He says: "We are anxious to maintain as good relations with Germany as possible, because she wants peace. We do not approve of the intimate relationship between Czecho-Slovakia and France, which is using our country as a political pawn in Europe. We certainly do not want any sort of alliance with Russia."

In his October 21, 1934, speech, Henlein denied that his group was opposed to the idea of parties, but added, "We shall, however, take our position against those elements whose aims are egoistic, and which are not ready to subordinate themselves to the highest ends, which the needs of the national community demand."

The policy of his party and its

actions are full of contradictions and it is impossible to listen to their claims without thinking of the many facts they deny. Is it not true that when the commission in control of communal finances examined the administration of certain communities controlled by Henleinists, whose financial situation seemed embarrassed, they found large reserve funds which the budget did not mention, and whose destination remained mysterious? Is it not true that the authorities of the Reich have begun to organize Sudeten German legions in imitation of the famous Austrian legions? Is it not true that the *Sudetendeutscher Heimatsbund*, the organization of the Sudeten Germans in Czecho-Slovakia, enlists young men in the Henlein party and sends them to Germany where they receive military instruction for three months? Is it not true that thousands of workers living on Bohemian territory, cross the frontier every day to go to work in Germany, where the Reich has everything so organized that these men return home with the most favorable impression of the Third Reich?

In May, 1937, Konrad Henlein presented six projects to the Czecho-Slovakian parliament. They were a bold attempt to unify all Germans of Bohemia by compulsion. If they were accepted, all German property would be considered part of the German national wealth; and no German could sell property to a non-German, even if he wanted to. A "survey" would distinguish, once for all, all the German citizens from the non-German citizens, and constitute a steadfast ethnical collectivity, represented by a *Sprecher*, who would not belong to the parliament, a supreme chief who would think, discuss, and direct in the name of all, like the Führer of the Reich.

In these projects, the Czechs saw an attempt to combat the moderate policies of the German Activists and give a new stamp to the particularism of the Sudeten.

Obviously one of the main objectives of Henlein's party is to accentuate everything that distinguishes the Czechs from the Germans, to stress the fact that the latter are a separate nationality and quite justified, therefore, in demanding their autonomy.

Actually, however, the Germans do not form a homogeneous nationality; there are several compact groups, but numerous Czechs are

mingled with them. The federal formula proposed by the chiefs of the Sudeten would result in sacrificing not only the German Activists but also the 380,000 Czechs living among them. It would also mean sacrificing the 730,000 Germans who live outside the Sudeten territory where the majority of the population is Czecho-Slovakian. Moreover, although the two nationalities are separated by language, culture, and ideology, ethnically they have been welded together during the course of centuries.

In this respect an eminent statesman stated: "It would be impossible to grant the Sudeten all their demands. It would mean creating a state within a state. Besides, the problem is complicated by the Semitic question. Among our three and a quarter million Germans, there are from 200,000 to 300,000 Jews, who have played a tremendous part in the culture of our country. Democratic Czecho-Slovakia would not consent to sacrificing her Jews in the north of Bohemia on the arbitrary order of an autocrat. The *Sudetendeutsche Partei* wants to settle it once and for all so that only Germans live in the German districts. But that's impossible! There are so many homes in which the husband is German and the wife Czech, or vice versa! Everything here is all mixed up."

On examining the possible solutions to the problem, we find that none of them is of value:

1. To cede the Germans in Czecho-Slovakia to the Reich would be to deprive the country of its natural frontier and literally place it at the mercy of the great power whose advance guard could easily bombard Prague, if it wished.

2. To constitute a German-Bohemian state or grant the inhabitants of this region their autonomy would only hasten its re-entrance into pan-Germanism; and in the long run this would imply the submission of Czecho-Slovakia to German hegemony.

3. To try to preserve the status quo, in which the majority of the Germans of Bohemia under the leadership of a Führer feel antagonistic towards the republic and consider themselves persecuted, engenders uneasiness and constant perils.

What is to be done?

The Agrarian Party has tried to come to an agreement with Henlein,

★ ★ A VERY BIG DAM ★ ★

Boulder Dam is the largest structure ever built by man, yet it could be buried in the base alone of a concrete colossus which engineers are raising above the Columbia river in Washington.

Called the "biggest thing on earth," the Grand Coulee dam, when finished, will be three times the size of Boulder, will develop one and a half times as much power, and will

but has not found the means of bringing this about. Would it be possible for this party to come to terms with him without capitulating? Is it not evident that his first condition would be for the government to abandon its foreign pacts and his second to grant him, Henlein, the right to influence its future foreign policy?

The Czechs understand these implications. They would like to have Henlein enter the ministry if this would pacify their Germans. But they realize that the Reich would consider such a move a step towards the creation of a government which would prepare the way for the vassalage of Czecho-Slovakia.

What appears certain in the last analysis is that the activities of the Sudeten are purely and simply manifestations of the policy of the Reich. The political mechanism of the Sudeten is controlled by invisible motivators in Berlin. Nazi Germany seems less desirous of improving the fate of the Germans in Bohemia than of following a general plan by which Czecho-Slovakia would be reduced to the position of a subordinate state. To Czecho-Slovakia, the intellectuals of the *Sudetendeutsche Partei* propose a permanent friendship, a community of interests, and a unity of views with Germany so that the two powers may act on an equal footing in the regions of the Danube. But when the 66 million in Germany, associated with 15 million, it is quite obvious that the latter 15 million will have to obey the former 66 million, and that the independence of Czecho-Slovakia, which is real today, will only be a memory tomorrow. Czecho-Slovakia does not want to accept this solution, because the memory of the three hundred years under German Hapsburg suzerainty is still too fresh. Rather than begin her vassalage again, she prefers to run the risk of complete annihilation.

—*L'Illustration, Paris.*

provide irrigation for an area one and a half times the size of Rhode Island.

The dam will be as high as a 46-story building and as long as fourteen ordinary city blocks. Its bottom will be as thick as the length of a six-car train, and four vessels the size of the 'Queen Mary' could be spaced along its top. The 23 million tons of concrete will bulk four times the volume of the Great Pyramid.

The gigantic mass to be seen today is not much more than the mere foundation of the whole structure. When finished the dam will be nearly a mile long and three times as high as Niagara Falls. It will back up a lake 151 miles long clear to the Canadian border and its generators will develop the equivalent of 2,700,000 horsepower, more than the hydro-electric power of all seven dams of the Tennessee Valley Authority combined.

The gorge of the Columbia river is too big to permit an archtype dam. Grand Coulee must depend upon its massive weight alone to resist the pressure of the water it will back up. At the dam site the river is 700 feet wide and at times 70 feet deep. It is estimated that potentially this one river alone, exploited under a huge ten-dam program of which the Grand Coulee is one and the Bonneville dam now being built 300 miles down stream is another, can turn out energy amounting to more than half the total hydro-electric power developed in the United States today.

When the engineers selected the present site on the Columbia they took advantage of an event that happened millions of years ago. During the last great ice age a glacier flowed into the present river bed and dammed the river as effectively as the modern concrete structure will. The impounded waters gradually filled the canyon and then overflowed the walls, cutting out a new river channel to the south. For centuries the river flowed along its new bed and then, when the ice retreated, resumed its age-old path.

That left a dry river bed, from 2 to 5 miles wide and 56 miles long, high on the canyon wall, pointing away almost in the opposite direction from the great gorge of the Columbia. At the far end of this old channel lie 1,200,000 acres of the richest arid agricultural land in the

country. The present idea is to pump billions of gallons of water up from behind the new dam into the extinct river bed and use 23 miles of this trough both as a canal and a balancing reservoir to carry part of the Columbia to the arid acres of the Big Bend country.

Never before has a river the size of the Columbia been dammed, and getting ready to build the dam was a major job in itself. Two towns, a "contractors' town" and a government town," were built on opposite sides of the river for the nearly 6,000 workmen and engineers. A large permanent railroad bridge and a suspension bridge for carrying cement across the river had to be built as well as several pile bridges and catwalks. In drilling down to bedrock to ensure firm foundations for the dam the drillers were away nearly 49 miles of hardened drill steel. To make sure that the foundation granite itself is as strong as possible, ten miles of grout holes were drilled into it and 12,500 tons of cement "grout" were forced down the holes under pressure to fill every crack and seam.

Today the nerve centers of the dam are in the two roaring, vibrating "houses of magic" where the concrete that goes into the dam is mixed. Between them, "Eastmix" and "Westmix" digest 15,000 barrels of cement, 21,750 tons of sand and gravel, and 360,000 gallons of water every day. On an average 15,000 cubic yards of concrete are mixed and placed in a 24-hour period.

Above the mixing chamber, in the comparative quiet of a glassed-in office, the chief mixer controls and regulates each batch of concrete. Flickering red and green lights on a dispatch board tell him which crews far out on the dam want concrete, and the amount and type of material they need. In front of him and above his head are push button controls and valves by which the automatically measured doses of water and materials that go into the mixing machines are released, as well as time controls that automatically stop and dump each batch at the right time. Against one wall of the chief mixer's office a dozen electrically operated steel pens ink jagged lines on the moving paper of a huge graph, telling the mixer, as a visual check, the exact amount of materials that go into each batch and the viscosity of the finished

The Way the People Are Thinking

By GEORGE GALLUP

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

During the last three years the American Institute of Public Opinion has interviewed hundreds of thousands of American voters in all walks of life, obtaining a true cross-section of popular thought. It has asked their views on more than 500 questions of politics, government, social and labor problems, war, etc., and it has accumulated a mass of authoritative information on what the people are thinking. It has found that the typical American is remarkably alive to the issues of the day and highly articulate about them. If free opinions and an active public mind are the lifeblood of democracy, then the red-corpuscle count for this country is extremely high.

As many as 80 or 90 people in every 100 will normally express an opinion on most issues. Most of the comments are folksy and colloquial, but with an element of old-fashioned "horse sense." By and large, the majority of voters seem to have a

concrete.

The dam grows in five foot "lifts" of wet concrete, placed in alternate blocks measuring up to fifty feet square. The forms that hold each block are shaped to provide vertical keys so that when concrete is poured in the intervening blocks the adjoining masses become locked and tied to each other. With both mixing plants in operation a cubic yard of concrete is added to the dam every five and one-half seconds.

After one-tenth of the Columbia's flow is diverted for irrigation more than enough water will always be available to keep the generators in continuous operation and to maintain the river level at approximately twice its past minimum flow. A huge fish hatchery is planned below the dam to raise and distribute young salmon, since the hordes of salmon that normally travel to the upper reaches of the river will be unable to get by the dam.

It is estimated that the dam and powerhouses will cost a total of \$178,790,000 and that the combined dam and irrigation project will represent a total investment of \$378,631,000. It will probably require another three years, at the present rate of work, to complete.

ready ability to distinguish reality from sham. The surveys provide evidence to support Theodore Roosevelt's dictum that "the majority of the plain people will day in and day out make fewer mistakes in governing themselves than any smaller body of men will make in trying to govern them."

Like any living organism, public opinion changes. But the Institute has found no evidence that it is fickle. There appear to be two types of opinion change: a slow trend, where a shift is scarcely noticeable over short intervals; and a precipitate change, not unlike the booms and panics in stock market values.

In nine cases out of ten, however, a precipitate shift of opinion is directly traceable to crucial or decisive events. This is illustrated by the trend of disarmament sentiment. Nearly three fourths of the voters interviewed in May, 1937, were for mutual disarmament pacts among the leading nations. Then came the Japanese invasion of China, and warlike moves by the fascist powers. President Roosevelt, warning the nation that it must face these unpleasant facts, called for a large increase in our Navy. When the institute again sounded disarmament sentiment in February, 1938, it found that in six months one third of the treaty supporters had changed sides.

Perhaps the best example of how the public mind changes with events was the Supreme Court fight. When the question was two months old, opinion was almost evenly divided. But events were to turn the tide against the President. The court validated the Wagner Labor Act, undercutting the argument that "nine old men" were irreconcilably anti-New Deal. Then Justice Van Devanter resigned, opening the way for a Roosevelt appointee; this and the bitter Senate debate on the bill contributed to a steady swing away from the President's plan. By the time the bill was finally buried, only about 30 in every 100 voters were in favor of it.

What are the main cleavages that exist today in American public opinion? The one that overshadows all others has to do with wealth. Institute researches show plainly that the lower income groups, particular-

ly in the North, now regard the Democratic party—with its share-the-wealth program—as their vehicle for political expression, while the upper income groups turn to the G.O.P. Whether or not the Republicans and Democrats swap positions as minority and majority parties, in the 1938 and 1940 elections, is directly dependent on Republican ability to win votes near the middle of the income scale.

Another opinion cleavage is that between farm and labor. Though the average farmer approves of collective bargaining, at least in theory, he thinks labor unions should be regulated by the government; and he is violently opposed to sit-down strikes. In view of the clash of economic interests and the wide difference of opinion between these two groups, it seems unlikely that an effective national Farmer-Labor party will be formed soon.

Where does public opinion stand on some of the principal issues confronting the American people today?

Relief and Social Security—The majority believes that it is the government's responsibility to pay the living expenses of the needy unemployed. The public is divided on the responsibility of local, state and federal governments for supplying and administering relief funds, but it believes strongly that able-bodied men should work for what they get and approves of work relief. It believes that politics plays a part in the administration of relief. The majority strongly approves of compulsory old-age insurance, and is willing to pay taxes necessary to support it.

Labor—The majority of the public believes, as do the farmers, in the right of workingmen, government employees excepted, to organize and bargain collectively. But its sympathy with strikes is shortlived; it strongly believes that sit-down strikes should be made illegal, and favors the forcible eviction of sit-down strikers by militia. It thinks that labor unions should be regulated by the government, and that they should make public annual reports of the moneys they collect and spend. It agrees that John L. Lewis and the C.I.O. have aided the cause of the workingman, but it likes William Green and the A. F. of L. better. It is against the closed shop and the check-off. It consistently endorses a federal law setting maximum-hour and minimum-wage standards.

Foreign Policy—The American

public has a passionate desire for peace. It believes that it was a mistake for the U. S. to enter the World War, and is strongly averse to entanglements that might lead it into another. It believes that there will be another world war and thinks—or perhaps hopes, since the majority is exceedingly small—that it can stay out. It would like to see American nationals and ships withdrawn from the troubled zones in China, but it is in favor of holding on to the Philippines until 1946. The American public is in favor of building a larger army and navy, and particularly a stronger air force. It thinks a strong military establishment will help to keep us out of war.

Our continuous studies in public opinion indicate that at present the public is heading gradually toward the conservative position in politics. The last five months, for example, have seen a steady decline in President Roosevelt's popularity. The Institute's latest index finds 58 percent of the electorate for him today, as compared to 63 percent last October.

Another reflection of relatively conservative tendencies is that Republican Congressional prospects have sharply improved. Whereas the number of Republican members in Congress has been reduced in every election since 1932, the surveys now indicate that the G.O.P. may win as many as 85 new seats in the House next autumn. The public's attitude toward organized labor has likewise undergone a change in the conservative direction, apparently because of last year's rioting and jurisdictional fights.

Several fundamental tenets of democracy are distinguishable in the surveys. The first is that power which goes with high elective office is to be placed only temporarily in the hands of any one individual. Witness the 70 percent of "no" votes in the Institute poll when the question of a third term for President Roosevelt is raised.

The second democratic tenet is that fundamental changes in government should be made by popular vote. Throughout the bitter Supreme Court fight, when the Administration was never able to win a majority to its point of view, voters told the Institute that they thought the President should have made the court plan an issue in the 1936 campaign.

A third tenet is that on fundamental questions where great val-

BOOK REVIEWS

Inazo Nitobe:

Editorial Jottings

The Osaka Mainichi &
The Tokyo Nichi Nichi,
May 5, 1938.

Those who leave an indelible mark upon history are either great misers of time or at least those who can turn their spare moments into tangible results. This is the way, I have been told, wise men define the great or near-great. If spare-moment accomplishments are a criterion of one's greatness, then the late Dr. Inazo Nitobe, our venerable advisory editor who passed away at Victoria, B.C. in 1933, can indeed be called a great man.

His "Editorial Jottings" which he penned for the Osaka Mainichi and the Tokyo Nichi Nichi, English edition, in his spare moments day in and day out from 1930 to 1933, and which have recently been published in two volumes, substantiate conclusively what one of his attainments can accomplish if he is on the alert against letting spare moments slip by.

Even Gifted Remain Idle

It is not unusual even for those gifted with high intellects to remain idle in their leisure hours.

From the standpoint of one who has had the privilege of associating with the savant late in his life and as one who has had the good fortune to translate some of his works, the perusal of his last journalistic efforts, posthumously published, which has had profound influence on us all, his co-workers, affords me great pleasure.

Just as the compiler says in the foreword, the savant does not make the slightest attempt at producing so-called fine writing in these articles of his, albeit the characteristic conscience of a scholar and artist, which Dr. Nitobe possessed to a marked degree, is much in evidence from cover to cover.

It should be remembered that a great part of his Jottings was scribbled down on scraps of paper while he traveled aboard a train, motored, or rode in a rikisha between stations and his residence, or hotels, or

ues are at stake, decisions made by many minds are more to be trusted than those made by few minds. When Presidential responsibility for neutrality is posed against Congressional responsibility, the people indicate greater faith in Congress. When the issue is carried one step further in terms of a war referendum, a majority declares for a popular vote before declaring offensive war.

This consistent adherence to democratic tenets offers unique evidence that, whatever its ailing condition elsewhere in the world, democracy in the United States today is very much alive.

—The New York Times Magazine.

while he breakfasted at an inn: in other words, during periods of spare time which ordinary mortals would have thrown away.

Sane Counsel Offered

When these facts are taken into consideration, one cannot but marvel at the richness of his thoughts, the soundness of his judgment, the varieties of themes dealt with, and, above all, the sane counsel he strove to give his compatriots.

Inazo Nitobe was unquestionably Japan's foremost internationalist. No one else was in his class in his own country and he had few equals abroad. Few realize, however, that this did not prevent him from being a true patriot as well, and few thinkers of his day were as grossly misunderstood by his compatriots as he. Casual observers frequently deduced that an internationalist of Nitobe's caliber would not care a farthing for his native country.

Nothing More Unjust

Nothing could be greater injustice to him. Such injustice, so frequently hurled at him, I presume to be due to the fact that he was unusually outspoken in pointing to the shortcomings of his countrymen while at home, which left the impression that he was a "mad worshipper of imported culture," not caring for what we Japanese hold precious.

If he was severe in criticizing his compatriots at home, no one was a stauncher defender of his fatherland as a spokesman abroad. Take, for instance, the book "Bushido," his first recorded effort at giving his country publicity abroad. He would hardly have written what he did had he not loved his country. In that book of his, he opened the eyes of those to whom "heaven culture" meant nothing.

Efforts by scholars and savants, especially by those of Nitobe's attainments, are seldom ostentatious. In fact, the greater the men, the less demonstrative they are. But the work they leave behind is infinitely more enduring than that of those whose exploits bring loud public ovation. Dr. Nitobe's compatriots will come some day to understand him and rightly to appreciate his efforts.

Los Angeles
March 14th 1938

Mr. Ippei Fukuda
Tokyo Japan

Dear Mr. Fukuda:

Have just read your book of short stories—The Japanese at Home—which I enjoyed more than I can tell you. It gave me more of an *understanding* of the Japanese than I get in meeting them which as you know there are lots of them here. The *young* are like our own now-a-days, fresh and impudent but the older ones from Japan are different, gentle and polite. But I've noticed that "Veiled see nothing expression" you mention. I always thought it was because they didn't want to be friendly. I just didn't understand it.

I notice Mr. Don Brown addresses you as Fukuda San—Is the San Mr.?

There is a little Japanese woman living in our house. When she saw your book, she could not read it, but looked at the

【The Burma Road の註】

Yunnanfu. 雲南府
the Grand Khan. 大汗
Mandalay. 印度北東部 Upper Burma の首都

Lashio. ラオハイ
posters adured the Shan tribesmen...
ホスター(は)ジャン族(印度支那地方に住む蒙古族)に「スカパローを訪問せよ」と訴へて居た

jigsaw puzzle. 切り目入り嵌め繪
suspension bridge. 釣橋
remetalled. また礫石を鋪いて居る
combining the trim with the picturesque. 小綺麗さと繪畫の美しさを結合して

chair coolies. 椅子駕籠を昇く人夫
Imperial Airways. 英國の航空會社名及其路線

but otherwise ignored us. 其他の點では知らない振をして居た

coming from the dire headlines of London... ロンドンで恐ろしい新聞見出しや恐ろしいニュース映畫を見て居た所から這つて来て
the Flood=The Bible of the Genesis の巻に出て来る大洪水

Yungchang. Yungchan (?) 永昌
Paoshan. 保山(縣)(雲南省中西部)
Lungling. 龍陵
this ran true to type. 典型的運轉をした
hairpin bends. U 字形の路
Lung Yun. 龍雲
Corvée. 公役
(Mexican). メキシコ弗のこと
dark horse. 此處では未知數位の意

【Czecho-Slovakia の註】

a state of nationalities... 各民族集合せる國家であつて一民族の國家でない
the German minority. ドイツ少数民族
the Reich. ドイツ聯邦
Slavism. スラブ民族主義
closed German territory. 閉鎖せるドイツ人地帯

its secular frontier. 俗世間的即ち政治的國境の意(此處では國語的民族的に對して用ひらる)

Deutschböhem. ドイツ系ボヘミア
the right of nations to self-determination. 民族自決の權利(各民族が自己の運命を決定し得るとする權利)

the Patriotic Front of the Sudeten. ブテーンの祖國戰線
the Sudeten-Deutsche Partei. ブテーン獨逸黨

pictures and stroked the book so lovingly—in home-sickness I knew. I told her what I could about it. She doesn't understand much English but is learning every-day.

Before I seal this letter I will ask her if she wants to write "hallow Japan" in it. I am enclosing two newspaper clippings of our recent rain-storm—I thought being a newspaper man yourself you might like to see them. It's quite sunny and warm again—storm all forgotten except the damage it left behind. Will here I seem to be writing a news letter when all I meant to do was to say I read your book, liked it and will see if I can find any other by you in the library.

I am

Very Sincerely,

MRS. BERTHA M. JOHNSON
434, So. Flower St.
Los Angeles California

there is a catch. 落し穴がある
the Activists... 行動派(其代表者(議員)がチェッコ政府の政策に參與する事を承認する)

Führer of the Sudeten = Führer (ドイツ語) (は) leader の意で其丈ならば Hitler の呼稱なり

Gemeinschaft, Deutsches... 共同團體
ドイツ人の血液 ドイツ人地域
a totalitarian policy. 全體主義的政策

Henleinists. ヘンライン派
the Third Reich. ナチス出現以後 (1933) のドイツ聯邦を指す

a Sprecher. (ドイツ語) 代辯人
particularism. 特殊性
a steadfast ethical collectivity. 強固なる倫理的(精神的)團體

Hapsburg suzerainty. ハプスブルグ王朝(前オーストリア王朝)の支配

【A Big Dam の註】

generator. 發電機
hydro-electric power. 水力電氣
pile bridge. 杭橋 suspension bridge (吊橋) に対する

glassed-in office. ガラス窓張のオフィス

【The Way People Think の註】

American Institute of Public Opinion. 米國輿論研究所

folksy. (俗語) 大衆的
horse sense. 實際的常識
the majority of the plain people will... 普通の民衆は、自治を行つて、如何なる小さな一閥の人々が彼ら民衆を治めようとするよりも、だんだん過誤をおかす事が少くなるであらう

treaty supporters = disarmament treaty (軍縮條約) 賛成者

the Supreme Court fight. ルーズヴェルト大統領が一、兩年前米國大審院の改組を行はうとした時の論争

the lower income group. 下層收入層
G. O. P. = Grand Old Party の略米國共和黨或は同黨内の保守派を指す

Farmer-Labour Party. 農民勞働黨
the needy unemployed. 困窮せる失業業者

C. I. O. = Council of Industrial Organizations の略、(米國)産業委員會(産業別勞働組合の一大合同組織)

A. F. of L. = American Federation of Labor. 米國勞働總同盟 前出 C. I. O. は本團體より分離したるものなり

Republican Congressional prospects. 共和黨の議會選舉戰の豫想

編輯室から

本月號は大多數讀者諸氏に取つての休暇第一號の積りで編輯した。何の記事も読み應へのあるものである事を保證して憚らない。

特に「チエッコのブテーテンの問題」の記事は我々が最近讀んだ中で最もよく真相を捕捉して居ると思はれるもの。「ビルマから支那へ」。有名なロンドンタイムス紙記者の手になつた時局向紀行文。「米國輿論の動向」。「世界一の大ダム」何れも近來の讀み物である。

出版部は新しく福喜多靖之助氏著「Cha-no-yu」と英譯日本お伽噺十二冊を海外に紹介すべく純日本式の豪華版を以て近々發行する、出版部が常に出版物に依つて日本紹介に努力して居るが以上の近刊も亦大いに日本の國民性を歐米諸國に認識させるに役立つことと確信する。

新渡戸博士隨筆集!!

EDITORIAL
JOTTINGS

by Dr. INAZO NITOBÉ

全二卷 四六判 定價各2.80 千各14錢



新渡戸博士は明治・大正・昭和の三代を通じての特異な存在であつた。而して其多岐多様な存在であつた生涯を通じて稀に見る博識と偉大なる常識と武士道的精神とが輝きに居るのである。日本文化並に於て小泉八雲、岡倉天心と共現代日本が持つた三大代辯者の一人でもあつた。隨筆は博士が昭和二年より四年間英文日々この題に關して筆を執つた隨想千餘篇

でも思想は胸に残る
訓と崇高なる教
る。無言のうちに
へるものであらう
生の風貌を傳
圓熟せる思想
前生までの最
先生居た直
て待たれた
日に讀者から
の讀者たる
である。多
隨想千餘篇
隨筆は博士が
觸れた凡ゆる
博士の隨筆は
所の隨筆は博
本收むる所の
和二年より四
に博士の耳目
題に關して筆

正義日本のために! 敢然頑迷なる世界の暴論に
挑戦する!!! 國際的新聞人ノエル氏新著

ノエル氏が本書で語る支那及支那事變に關する嚴然たる事實と公平なる論斷こそは吾人の云はんと欲することを云つたもので正義日本が聞くべくして聞かざりし萬雷の聲援である。

With Typical American Fairness * * *

PERCY NOËL

23 years a foreign correspondent for American, British and French newspapers in Europe, the Near East and in Asia.

TELLS THE TRUTH

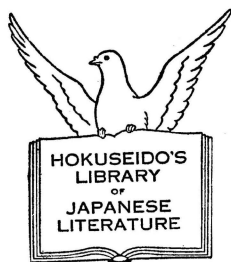
As he sees it about recent events

in Asia and suggests the future in

When
Japan Fights

戦ふ日本

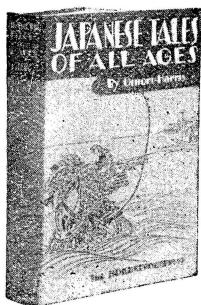
Cloth. 250 pages ¥ 2.80 Postage 10 sen in Japan.

Nothing trite, no repetition of what has been
told before; but fresh observation.京東神田北星堂振替東京
錦町三丁目 一六〇二世界に燦たり北星堂の
日本文學英譯書

下記の諸篇は現代日本文學海外進出の嚆矢をなしたるもの。譯者は何れも斯界の第一人者、現代日本文學英譯の最高水準を行くものである。
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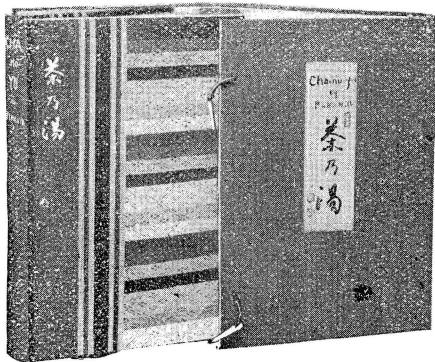
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